

784 Ainu traditions about these.⁵⁶ To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

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[696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine⁵⁷ who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetess]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.⁵⁸

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

⁵⁶ Itô Yûichi, *Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisô oyobi kanshu* (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shikô Kenkyû*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

⁵⁷ John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 242-243.

681 The payment of atonement came not only
[596] after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
[689] manners and customs such as sitting down without
regard to custom,⁶⁷ looking into a house through "God's
window,"⁶⁸ speaking the name of the dead,⁶⁹ talking
about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
things,⁷⁰ or disturbing a sacred place.⁷¹ *Ashinpe* was
therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
among persons there was no question about the distribu-
tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
[622] he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
[692] party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō
Junkōki* [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows:
"When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and
made to atone after which he was set free. The dis-
position of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*."
in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing
judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in
accordance to the offense and give it to the injured
party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense
has been committed through error, the chief of the
village would examine the case and impose a fine on the
party to blame and present this to the other party." It
is evident that those in power could abuse this custom
and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke*
over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
598 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
word literally being taken as to beat each other with
clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was
called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became cor-
rupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shu-
touchi* along with *Tsugunai* was an important method
of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes:
"When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals
Tsugunai was offered and if it was refused the one was
beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he
bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The
Hokkai Zuihitsu states: "This was used when one so

⁶⁷ *Tokai Yatai*.

⁶⁸ Chiri Yukie trans., *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116-
117, fn. ["God's window" was opposite the entrance and back of
the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen,
it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which
the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

⁶⁹ "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I
asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from
his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Watarishi-
shima Hikki*.

⁷⁰ "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai*
had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observa-
tions of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichizatusawa* (Conversations
about the land of the barbarians).

⁷¹ "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. There-
fore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would
immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid.* "A person urinated
upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but
the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyō Ki*.

resented another as to desire to take his life. An arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment. Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course, were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke* or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beating. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an argument developed into a fight there would be an agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime, is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru* both parties beat each other after which they resume their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo." The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] reinforces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru* is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families of the two parties is held and the person held to commit the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after which he beats the other party. If, after the beating, both parties are uninjured it is considered then that there was no need for atonement."

Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed. It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zuzetsu* [Description of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru* settled disputes and since there were always disputes it was important for the men to be in constant training for *Ukaru*. This training took the form of sports as seen in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and is the same ceremony which was performed, in conjunction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a game. It should also be noted that the removal of hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punishment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair and believed that a part of their life force lay in it, and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

- 681 power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
 • 627 problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as
 follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would
 act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties
 come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering
 goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
 [692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

- 105 The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were
 beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
 [462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead com-
 paratively advanced and included division of labor.
 [341] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and
 [233] fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
 or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign
 [439] trade as the family became an economic unit and the
 communal economy of village life dissolved. In the
 [622] regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
 [621] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
 evolving into a local organization. The original state
 of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a
 small number of families centering around the chief
 family, all of which originated, presumably, from a
 common couple. Each family was led by the head of
 that family while each group of families was headed by
 an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
 family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was
 [361] most convenient. When the number of people in a
 village group increased in excess of the number that
 could be supported by their local production the group
 [166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as
 a new group or groups to other parts of the country.
 [628] As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
 the mother village and the scattered villages became
 less intimate and each village tended to take on more
 of a local color and less of that of the parent village.
 At the same time it became more difficult to control a
 village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so
 that a leader needed more than lineage. During this
 period it seems to me that the most significant event
 among the Ainu was their growing contact with out-
 siders especially trade relationships. Contact with out-
 [556] siders not only introduced more highly developed
 methods of production but made possible the accumula-
 tion of wealth. Those superior in trade or production
 gradually became economically dominant and an im-
 balance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
 [469] Those with large families, having the greatest labor
 [622] supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
 true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following
 passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

- 105 Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
 421 members of her family become members of the chief's
 592 family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
 556 support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting,
 fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

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1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidō except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

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In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokuni was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.⁵¹

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Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the *SGM* we find that, "When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.⁵² Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

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⁵¹ Italics are mine.

⁵² See p. 21.

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takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

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4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattoos are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

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It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

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hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchinchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

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5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Trugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

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6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administering directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present-day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting.

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen.

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script.

627 The punishment of minor offences and recognized
692 crime was left pretty much to the injured individual
and community.

622 It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the
627 people in hunting, fishing and fighting, in conjunction
with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in
the national bear festival. He had to attend to the
division of the land among his people, to point out
to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle
disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name
children. All trials took place in public, and unless
[623] the assembled elders of the people assented to the
decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This
was sometimes practised in secret by the people when
I first went among them. That they had recognized
advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

622 In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in
562 very remote times, and in very small villages, the
593 chief authority was naturally vested in the head of
[184] the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a
great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher
place than her husband. The husband and father, in
Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with
his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce
[586] any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He
428] could punish any member of his family as he thought
proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to
be better form for him to consult his chiefs and com-
panions in these matters.

621 How this came to be so was explained to me in
this way. Suppose any single individual or family
should move away from all friends and build a house
in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was
sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become
the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would
naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as
new huts were built near him for the accommodation
of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

681 (5). *Throwing the cup.* This consisted in causing a person to drink a cup of water. When this was done, he was made to throw the cup behind him, over his head. If it lighted the right way up, the innocence of the individual was supposed to be established; if otherwise, he was proved guilty.

(6). *The tobacco ordeal.* A favourite way of trying women and girls was to make them smoke several pipes of tobacco, and, having knocked the ashes out of the pipe into a cup of water, compel them to drink it. Those who could smoke the prescribed amount of tobacco and drink the ashes without feeling ill were pronounced innocent; those who could not do so were said to be guilty.

(7). *The stake.* This punishment and ordeal consisted in tying a person to two stakes driven into the earth. The arms were stretched out to their full extent and tied to the stakes. Next, the legs were treated in the same manner. Anyone tied up in this way had to remain there till he either made a complete confession or had received sufficient punishment.

Beating with a thorn bush was also one way of inflicting punishment. When applied to the naked back, it sometimes caused such sores that it took a very long time to heal them. My informant told me [762] that, rather than undergo some of these ordeals and punishments, people had been known to commit suicide. These were all ancient methods which are now seldom practised, and when indulged in, it is always in secret, and among private friends and relations.

● 627 In olden times the Ainu often used to settle their differences by open discussion at recognized places [184] rather than by an appeal to arms. And I am given to understand that this custom used also to prevail farther north. Yet these people have been called "savages"! When a case was to be heard, the chiefs and elders of the people, men and women, too, would

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meet at the appointed place on a given day, the 6270
 younger folk also being allowed to be present. The
 disputants would carry on a wordy conflict through
 their selected representatives, lasting for days on end
 sometimes, if the cases required it, and the question
 as to which side had won would be decided by the
 vote of all the elders assembled. Many local differ-
 ences were settled in this way, though the tribal [628]
 quarrels were more difficult and arms were at times
 resorted to or night raids made. The assembly also
 determined what fines, if any, were to be imposed.
 This plan suited the people well and they abode faith-
 fully by the decisions arrived at. The fines usually [651]
 consisted of the skins of animals, dried fish, beautiful
 seal-skin garments or heirlooms.

It should be understood that the Ainu settlements 421
 were mostly along the rivers. Those dwelling near 361
 the river banks in any district would lay claim to these
 as their own peculiar property in which to fish, and to
 the surrounding mountains and plains as their personal
 hunting domains, thus making certain territories their
 own private property, in which none but the owners 224
 had any right to hunt or fish. Transgression of these 226
 unwritten but well understood fishing and hunting 685
 rules meant tribal discord and intertribal quarrels. 627
 When these could not be easily settled between the
 villages where the poaching had taken place, the people
 were called together and the matter was openly con-
 sidered and adjusted. In the special instances I have
 now in view, the "Stone of Contention" was the place
 chosen, and the cases were carried on in a dignified
 manner with all due religious and ceremonial rites and
 respect.

I once knew a very affable and courteous Ainu 117
 whose name meant "Mouth of Peace." For short I
 here call him Mr. Mo, the first syllable of his name,
 which means "Peace." He was quite a well-to-do man,
 for at the time I first knew him he had in his posses-

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enemy Japanese during their wars with them. It was also used as a lookout post for spotting shoals of fishes nearing the coast. Then he took me to see the places among the rocks where the men used to set their spring-bows charged with poisoned arrows. I found all this most interesting. But times have now radically changed and we may not expect to hear anything more about such goings on. How Mr. Tee was accidentally shot in the thigh and killed by one of his own arrows will be told in a later chapter, showing that Ainu poisoned arrows were not meant to be played with. 117

In respect to the "Stone of Contention" mentioned above, it is quite interesting to remark how objects used in olden times for one purpose become changed for another as the days pass by. Formerly this stone stood for peace and was worshipped as though it were alive and knew all that went on, and had some sort of magical power inherent in it. Now, however, it seems to mean, "Keep on your own side of the line or woe betide you." The stone is never resorted to now for purposes of carrying out the good old Ainu law of settlement by arbitration, and its former use is to all intents and purposes forgotten. But the stone is one more echo of a doomed race. Japanese law and methods now prevail. Still, the stone is there as a witness and I hope it will be a thundering echo of the past, and so be allowed to stand. 627 ● 178